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Occasionally, a cradle is burned at the death of the child. This alternative usage conforms to the customary death practices for all of an adult's combustible possessions are ordinarily destroyed by fire at his demise.

A still serviceable cradle, if the child for whom it was made is alive and healthy, may be used for a newborn sibling of the same sex. Nevertheless, a cradle ceremony is held for the new baby. The more usual practice is to fashion a separate cradle for each child.

There are no conventionalized cradlesongs, but the mother often croons some such improvised lullaby as, "Little baby, go to sleep again." "Sometimes it goes way up and makes you feel sorry for the baby. It almost makes you want to cry." To quiet a fretful child, a man or a woman swings the cradle and sings a vigorous tune accompanied by such words as:

This, my little baby!
This, my little baby!

FIRST STEPS

Life is conceived as a path along which individuals must constantly be helped by ritual devices. This trail must be followed exactly as the heroes of mythical times are said to have journeyed along it. It is appropriate, therefore, that the baby's first steps should be ceremonially celebrated.

Since this rite is purely symbolic in nature, it may occur before the child actually begins to walk or some time afterward. It will not take place until the child is at least seven months old, and it has ordinarily been held before he is two years of age. On this occasion the infant dons his first moccasins, an aspect of the rite which gives it its name, "Putting on Moccasins." As in the other rites, practitioners who "know" this particular ceremony must be hired. Depending on their "way" and the wealth and importance of the family sponsoring the occasion, the ceremony will vary in detail. The account that follows summaries the basic pattern.

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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[601] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his
576 grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he
was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked
if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
[606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what
a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain
place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs
around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial struc-
ture. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue
to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the
girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after
them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us
beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way,
that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the
other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics
• [761] is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state
of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease--snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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869 When I was little I was told about death. According to what I was taught as
765 far back as I can remember, when someone died he would never come back to
this world; he was gone. I was told that I must therefore never again call his
578 name, for I might accidentally say his name in the presence of his parents or other
• 761 relatives and they might scold me for it or slap my mouth. The parents taught
the children that it is an insult to another person to call the name of his dead
relative. If I was a little fellow and didn't know any better, someone might have
slapped my mouth; then the families might have been angry, and there might
have been trouble.

869 I was told that you never watch burial parties just to see what is going on.
764 Men and women show that they sympathize with those people who are carrying
their relative to the mountains by getting out and crying when they go by, even
though they are not related. You should never watch unless you are crying like
this for them. Children should not watch at all.

869 At first, little attempt is made to enlarge upon the precise
825 place of the owl in the death complex. But, as the child grows
older, the nexus between ghost and owl is clarified:

775 When I was young this is what I heard the old Indians say about ghosts and
owls. They said that owls are part of ghosts. A night or so after a death you hear
an owl close to the camp where the person died. Not only in that camp but in
other camps near by the people hear that owl calling. They say, "That person is
back over there again!"

[768] They claimed that if the dead man had a horse left alive there, or if any of his
clothes were there, he would come back every night until his possessions were
destroyed. He would come back after his things. If you had not destroyed what
belonged to the dead man, the things he had had his hands on during his life, the
owl would come every now and then, perhaps often, they said. Then it might
bring sickness or bad luck to that family. That's the way I heard it long ago.

[789] And so to prevent sickness, if an owl cried around the camp, they set fire to a
stick of wood, carried it outside, and threw it in the direction of the owl. Then it
stopped [hooting].

869 In the following excerpt an informant recalls the manner in
775 which his father sought to satisfy his curiosity concerning the
destination of the dead:

I asked, "Suppose I die. Where would I go?"

My father said, "When a man dies he is just like any human being and is just transferred to another state. He is in another world. There are mountains and rivers there as there are here." He called it the underworld. He said, "The habits you have on earth are carried with you. If you are a bronco-buster on earth, you would be a bronco-buster in the other world. If you play hoop and pole on earth a great deal, you play that game all the time in the underworld. Whatever a person is accustomed to do on earth he will be doing down there."

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During these events, women of the adolescent girl's family have brought baskets of fruit and nuts to the rear of the hide upon which she has stood. They throw these presents upon the hide, and a scramble ensues. Thus the cycle which began when the pollen footprints were drawn has been completed symbolically; the fruits have followed the pollen and the season of growth. In the good-natured din and confusion the girl and her attendant retire. The girl has custody of the singer's rattle until evening. It is noon before this opening ritual is concluded, and more food is now distributed.

881 [431]

The afternoon is devoted to social activities—dancing in the open space to the east of the ceremonial structure, singing, racing, and visiting. Men gather at the hoop-and-pole ground, while the women play the stave game. The girl's parents move about among their guests, and grateful visitors seek them out to comment upon their hospitality and "to say they are thankful that this daughter has grown up to have the ceremony." "The feast-givers are shown respect, and all obey them. Nobody ever breaks this rule."

881 574 [535] [533] [526] [576]

Ordinarily, the girl's ritual obligations are over until evening, but she may be requested to treat the very young during the day:

881 854

The Chiricahua believe that it is good luck for a child or a baby if a girl who is White Painted Woman lifts it up. At any time during the ceremony the girl can take a very young child, pick it up under the arms, and hold it to the directions. This is done to give the child long life and good luck.

[777] [823] [761]

She also helps the infirm:

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If your arm is crooked, go to the girl at the time of the ceremony. She can work it and make it straight. She picks up children by the neck too. It is good for them. They tell me to let one of the girls work on me. [This man has a crippled arm.] I go there, but there are lots of people in there, and I back out every time.

In the late afternoon of the first day the adolescent girl or the singer, using a fire drill, lights a fire in the ceremonial structure. This fire is to be kept alive during the course of the ritual or, at least, during the nights. Sometime in the afternoon a great pile of firewood is stacked to the north side of the ceremonial structure. This will be used for the fire around which the masked dancers will perform.

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desire daylight. The moccasin game—a game of the hidden-ball variety—is arranged to determine whether day shall come; the victors are to dispatch the vanquished. The side of the birds wins, and the horizon to the east brightens. A few of the losers escape—the snake, the owl, and the bear—and these are still considered dangerous creatures.

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During this epoch Coyote makes death inevitable for mankind by throwing a stone into the water and declaring that, if it sinks, living beings shall ultimately die. Coyote's behavior during this prehuman horizon creates a "path" that man has been obliged to follow. All that man does "Coyote did first." Gluttony, lying, theft, adultery, incest, and all the other faults and foibles were introduced by Coyote and have become inescapable for those who "follow Coyote's trail."

Next are introduced White Painted Woman, Child of the Water, and Killer of Enemies. White Painted Woman has existed from the beginning. Killer of Enemies' place in the time sequence is less certain; he is variously described as a brother of White Painted Woman, an older son, a twin brother of Child of the Water, and even, in one variant, as the husband of White Painted Woman and therefore the stepfather of the culture hero. In the most representative versions he appears as an older brother of Child of the Water, already grown when the culture hero is born.

During this period White Painted Woman and Killer of Enemies share the earth with human beings and with monsters who prey upon the human beings and prevent them from thriving. One of them, a giant, carries his depredations to White Painted Woman herself and consumes a number of children she attempts to rear. Finally she is impregnated by Water and gives birth to Child of the Water, who is protected from Giant by being hidden under the earth and by other stratagems. Child of the Water grows with miraculous speed, and soon the brothers are prepared to hunt together. On the hunt they encounter Giant, and Child of the Water slays his colossal foe. This is the first adventure of a series during which he destroys the other monsters: the giant eagles, the dangerous buffalo bull, and the antelope which can

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753 825 On the banks of Medicine Creek at Fort Sill I went fishing. I left my cap on a bank. I went back to the village. The next day I went to look for my cap. I found it and wiped off the sweat from my face with the cap.

753 755 825 The next day my face was swollen. My relatives did not know what was wrong. They consulted an old shaman, a woman. She could trace everything from her singing. She said prayers and sang four songs over me. No one knew what was wrong. While she sang, she saw a cap on a bank. It was mine. While she was looking at it, she saw something moving and coiling around inside the cap. My relatives asked me about my cap. I told them what had happened. Then the old lady knew what had happened. A water moccasin had got into my cap.

753 825 There are many ways of contracting the disease:

[761] A person gets sick by being bitten. . . . . The sloughed skin of the snake will also cause the sickness. If I pick up the skin where I am weeding, it causes death too. A person can get sick from being scared by a rattlesnake. . . . . A person gets sick from smelling the snake. If a person lies where a snake has been, he gets sick from that.

[578] Mention of the snake is usually avoided except in invective: "The snake is used in quarreling. Sometimes people say, 'I wish a snake would bite you!' " But this, too, has its dangers:

If a man says in anger, "I hope a snake bites you," he will get sick from snakes. He has a bad mouth. Before this the snakes have not bothered him, but he's got a bad mouth, and it's bound to make him sick.

The fate of an impious man who defied the precepts for commercial gain is told today:

Every spring white spots used to come around that man's mouth. It happened right up to the time of his death. This is because he did things against the Chiricahua's way. He went around and fooled with rattlesnakes. Many people living here have seen what would happen to his mouth every spring.

He used to catch rattlesnakes and skin them and sell the skins. He was a strong man, and he used to grab them in the back of the neck and strangle them to death. Then he'd skin that snake. He'd take out his knife and cut it open. He'd put one end of the skin in his mouth, with the blood and fat all over him and streaming down his face, and he'd pull at it to separate the skin from the rest. He used to call to other people, "Come here! Get hold of this!" But no one would go near him. After that he got sick from it and got these white spots every spring. The Chiricahua doesn't want to have anything to do with snakes. I know I don't even want to look at a rattlesnake.

825 231 Even animals are susceptible to the malignant influence of snakes:

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825 775 The owl represents the spirit or ghost of a person who was bad during his life and continues to be vicious after death. He works by entering the body of an owl and exercises evil influence in this way. Those who were desperate in life, such people as murderers and those who were given to jokes of a rough nature, are the ones likely to assume such a form after death.

This is what I heard in my young days—I remember my father telling me of it. Our belief is that, when the Chiricahua who has been a bad one dies, he turns to an owl. We believe that the bad ones go right into the owl at death, at once. The others who were good through life go to the underworld.

Since the owl is the ghost of a malicious human being, its hoot is interpreted as a dire warning:

I'm not so much afraid to kill an owl or even to handle it; it's the call! When I was in sheep camp, I listened closely and it seemed to me that it was talking the Chiricahua language. Some say they hear it say, "I'm going to drink your blood!" My wife says it sounds that way to her. Some say it sounds like, "I'm one of your relatives." To me it sounds like, "I'm a Mescalero." Some believe that dead relatives are in the form of the owl. They don't want to hear it. It's not the owl itself which is the dead person, but the voice. The owl always fools around the place where a person has died.

825 775 753 These "words" of the owl can cause sickness through fright:

If you hear an owl, you know a ghost is near by, for the owl is connected with the ghost. The ghost uses him, goes into his body. Owls talk the Chiricahua language. They say different things to different people. To me it seems like they are saying, "All your people are going to get killed." The call of the owl is very powerful. It can get into your body and cause trouble.

Most people, feeling that direct reference to evil invites its appearance, are unwilling to speak of owl or ghost sickness. Therefore, because ghosts and owls are both particularly active at night, the malady which they bring is most often designated "darkness sickness."

825 775 753 781 [761] An actual encounter with an owl is a harrowing experience:

The Chiricahua are afraid of the owl. It is because the owl stays around the place where people have died, and when it comes it is a sign that someone is going to die. Many people, when they hear the call of the owl, get frightened and faint. My wife went through an experience with the owl. About a hundred paces from her my wife saw a person in black. This person was walking toward her. When it got close, it changed to an owl and flew at her. When it flew up, it tried to sit on her head. She fought off the owl, and it flew away. I wasn't at home at the time. When I came home my wife was still trembling. I knew a ceremony toward the owl, and so I performed it and made her well again.

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When you are frightened by the owl, your heart begins to flutter; your heart gets weak and you fall down. I can pray for a person who has been frightened like this and, even though his heart is beating only a little, can restore him so that he gets up again.

Another story, so well known that it has been recorded from four different informants, concerns the return of a woman's ghost to her former home:

A man and his wife lived out at Whitetail. About two years ago the wife died, and the husband continued to live at the same location, though he didn't use the place in which she had died. One night he heard a knocking at the door. Then something was calling him by name. He went to the door but could see no one. This happened for three nights. He was very frightened. He kept his gun ready.

There was a full moon the fourth night. He had gone to bed. He thought he heard a rapping on the window. He looked and was pretty sure he saw his wife's face. He tried to talk to her. He said, "Come in at the door; if you have anything to say to me, let us see each other face to face." But no one came in.

After a while he heard the rapping again. This time he shot, and he heard groans. He was afraid to go out until morning. When he went out the next morning, he found a dead owl lying by the window. The next day he told the story. He knew he wouldn't live long after that, and he didn't last long. He could have gone to an owl shaman, but he didn't care much about going on living after that. [761] •

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It is evident that owl sickness is but one aspect of ghost sickness. But, though all owls are ghosts, the ghost need not take the form of an owl to frighten or harm the living. A whistling sound at night, when nothing at all is visible, is attributed to ghosts. This has given rise to a rule: "No whistling is permitted at night, for then the ghosts whistle back to you and scare you." There are ways of protecting one's self when the whistle of a ghost is heard:

When you get scared you get sick. If you go out on a dark night, you tie a small amount of ashes up and carry this. Put some ashes on your face too. When you hear a whistle at night, take some ashes and throw them in the direction of the whistle, and then the ghost gets frightened and doesn't scare you or bother you any more. Put ashes under your pillow too.

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The shade may call attention to its proximity by other audible means:

A young man was walking up a canyon with a girl in the moonlight. He heard a horse coming, trotting along. He thought it was somebody from the camps,

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dian ghost is fatal, but to see a white man's ghost makes you very sick, and you 648
see white men all the time. . . . . Before the Americans came, we had Mexican 753
ghost sickness a lot, especially when we took guns from them.

Unlike the Chiricahua ghost, the white man's ghost does not utilize the body of the owl to further its designs. [825]

Bat, gopher, turtle.—The danger from the bat derives from its bite: 825

If a bat bites you, you had better never ride a horse any more. All the Chiricahua say that. If you do ride a horse after being bitten, you are just as good as dead. [761]

B. never rode, because if a bat bites you, you shouldn't ride a horse. He never got into a buggy or an auto either. He would walk for miles.

To touch the gopher or to be bitten by it can cause illness. "In 825
1886 I shot a gopher. I thought it was dead, but it wasn't and it 753
bit me. My arm swelled up, and it looked like gopher holes were in it. The Chiricahua say the gopher is bad. You can get sick from it."

An indication that the ordinary man hesitates to touch the 825
turtle was obtained: "My people were afraid of the turtle and wouldn't touch it. Only a man who got power from it would [778]
handle it."

Red ant, vinegarroon, black water beetle, centipede.—A number of insects are considered dangerous, and among these are the red ants:

They say you can get sick from ants in the same way you can from the coyote [i.e., as a result of its inherent evil influence]. On some people, when the ants sting the hands, they swell up. Mine don't. They bite me, and it hurts a little but never swells up. There are songs and a regular ceremony for ants. . . . . All Chiricahua children are taught not to urinate into an anthill. [753] [533] [796] [863]

One of the most feared insects is the vinegarroon: 825 753

K. is suffering from a peculiar Indian disease. It comes from an insect bite, from the bite of the vinegarroon. The disease is marked by a circle of red dots around the body from the point where the person is bitten. In K.'s case he has such a row of dots running around his chest. If these dots meet and form a complete circle around the body, the person dies. K. has been having several people sing for him. [761]

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825 Later the stricken man died, and another informant observed:

753 If the vinegarroon gets in your clothes or urinates on you, red marks come
[761] out on your body, and if they go around and meet, it kills you. K. was affected by it. He claimed it got in his clothes. It usually breaks out on your shoulder.

A small black water beetle is held accountable for a well-nigh fatal sickness which results when it is swallowed accidentally. Great care is taken, therefore, to see that the drinking water contains none of these insects. Even horses are not exempt from this illness: "If you swallow one, it will kill you. I have seen
[755] horses swallow it and die. I don't know any cure for it except to ask some shaman to sing for you."

To be bitten by a centipede causes alarm, for "after it stings you, you'll live one day for each leg it has. I've never heard of a cure for this."

Crow, eagle, buzzard, parrot.—A number of birds besides the owl are considered possible sources of peril, and prominent among these is the crow. One man warned against carrying crow feathers and added, "They say it makes you sick to touch its droppings or anything from it." The opinion is supported by other testimony:

[411] The Chiricahua doesn't use crow feathers for arrows. Crow is one of the worst
[237] of all. The sickness you get from Crow is worse than sickness from any other bird its size. In the old days the Chiricahua wouldn't kill a crow. They didn't like the crow to fly around. They were afraid to imitate it just as they were afraid to imitate the call of the owl. The crow is not connected with dead people like the owl, but when the crow comes around they say it means that someone is going to die; they think it is a bad sign.

A certain ambivalence in attitude toward the eagle exists.
[237] Eagle feathers are prized for use in ceremonial contexts. But,
[262] because eagles "catch lizards and snakes," the people "can't eat the kill of the eagle" (this taboo extends to the kill of hawks as well) and "are afraid of them, wouldn't touch them." It is primarily contact with the talons or bill of the eagle that is feared.

The negative reaction has left its impress on a story of a boy who climbs a cliff, finds an eagle's nest, and brings down an eaglet. He rears the bird and teaches it to hunt for him; but when he first reaches home with it, the people say to him,

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. . . . They make steps of pollen just like those made at the girl's puberty rite and have the patient walk through. Anyone else who wants to can walk through after the patient finishes. They call it the trail of long life.

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The ground drawing, too, may be an important feature of a particular rite. The one discussed below was used against epidemics as well as to foil the enemy.

789 726

I do not want to draw it because I do not know it. No one transferred the power to me, and it would not be wise for me to try it. This ground drawing was used in war too. Once it was used when I was there. A regiment of cavalry and a regiment of infantry were after us. This shaman drew the picture in pollen on the ground and left it there. Then we retreated to a hill. Both regiments turned off the trail and went back by a roundabout way, though the trail was plain, and they could have kept going. That is the way the ground drawing works. When it is used like this, the enemy is unable to follow. Something happens to the enemy always. They give up before they get to the place of the ground drawing, or they cannot pass it.

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Death in a near-by home is the one event considered serious enough to halt a ceremony already started. "If there is a death in the camps, they stop any ceremony going on. They won't pray even. The ceremony has to be started over again. It can start the day after the person is buried."

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Almost *without fail, at the conclusion of a ceremony, the* shaman imposes some food or behavior restriction upon the patient:

A Chiricahua, in the house of another, always asks if he can do anything before he does it. His host might have had a ceremony performed after which he was told not to let people smoke before him, step over him, or do any of a number of other things. We have to be careful not to disobey any of these things and cause sickness or harm to a friend.

The shaman restricts his patients. He tells some not to eat liver, entrails, heart, head, or not to let anyone step over them, or stand to the east of them when they are sitting down, or suddenly appear behind them. Or he might tell them never to let the shadow of a buzzard fall upon them, or, if someone gives them a piece of fruit and it drops, not to pick it up again and eat it.

Usually these restrictions are scrupulously respected:

One woman here was shot. She had a curing ceremony performed over her by one who specializes in gun wounds. He told her she must not eat deer meat, and to this day she will not do so. I know her well. Once I offered her deer meat, and she would not take it.

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they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

727 354 There is no evidence that conventional morality is totally discarded at this time, but there are suggestions that more freedom than usual is allowed:

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> The dancing may go on for two, three, or four days. There is much feasting. Some people are eating, others are dancing. There are many marriages during this period. The Chiricahua, when they were captured and taken to Mexico, noticed that, when the Mexican people had a big victory, they always celebrated by dancing and marrying and having a good time. To get even with them, the Chiricahua turn their victories into a celebration and a dancing and marrying time. Many young men take advantage of the occasion.

727 Thoughts of death are not permitted to interfere with the happy mood: "Dead warriors are not mentioned in the songs, and the deaths are in no way formally announced. When the war party returns, the members state the news of the casualties privately." There is no general purifying rite for those who have come in contact with corpses during the fighting. The use by some of "ghost medicine" to stave off evil effects is "an individual matter; they don't do it in a bunch."

761 [783] [775] [789]

462 THE GATHERING AND UTILIZATION OF WILD FOOD PLANTS

222 The responsibility of exploiting the wild-plant resources of the region falls to the women:

> [512] While the man is hunting, the woman gets up before sunrise, builds the fire if the man hasn't already done so, and cooks the morning meal, using meat if there is some, vegetables if not. Then she goes out to gather seeds or plants, leaving the small children with another woman. She gathers yucca fruit, piñon nuts, or whatever is in season and carries it all home to prepare.

Gathering, preparing, and storing fruits and vegetables provide a continual round of labor as the women follow the natural harvests:

> [251] In spring they go out for mescal. They keep going for it for some time. They get plenty of it and store it up. By the time that is done they can go out after the first acorns and bring them in and store them in bags. Then the yucca fruit and the sumac berries and other things are ready.

821 865 The preoccupation with the growth of wild plants is reflected in the attitude toward the seasons and in the names of the principal time periods. Besides the four seasons, six time periods, beginning with the first signs of spring, divide the year. Their

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD

761 [195] THE topic of death is sedulously avoided. The regular term for death is seldom used; the approved euphemism "he is gone" is employed instead.[1] When an informant was asked whether his people had any death songs, his 761 533 emphatic reply was:

> There are no death songs for the Chiricahua. Our war songs urge the men to go forward all the time. Death wouldn't be mentioned. If a Chiricahua man [535] heard a word about death in there during a war dance, he would stop dancing. [926] He would go to a man with a ceremony for war and have him sing his songs and find out what it meant. Some men would back right out as soon as they heard anything like that. They'd be afraid that the fight would turn against them if that bad word was said in there.

764 But, when death does strike, a formal pattern of thought and procedure exists to make possible the requisite material and psychological adjustments.

The data already presented concerning the owl, the ghost, and ghost sickness[2] have paved the way for a summary of the characteristics of the burial practices:

> When a person dies, his close relatives pull their good clothes off. They tie any old thing around themselves to keep themselves covered and warm. It is [765] sometimes a month before they dress in good clothes again. Members of the family cut their hair; the women wail; the men cry.
>
> [202] A few minutes after death (whether a man or a woman has died) a close male relative may go out of doors and shoot off a good many cartridges in the air. He doesn't shoot in any special direction. Any male relative can do it. I don't know exactly why it is done; no one seems to be sure. But I think that this has to do with the importance of the person who has died. It tells the rest of the people that someone of standing has died. N. was a leader. When his mother died, he

[762] [1] In spite of the great terror surrounding death, suicides occasionally occur when life becomes unbearable. Individuals have committed suicide when captured by the enemy, when stunned with grief at the loss of a child or some other close relative, or as a result of marital strife.

[2] See pp. 14–15, 229–37, 301–5.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

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The native ideology concerning plants illustrates this conception of the objects of the natural world and the care taken to handle them properly. A plant with smaller ones of the same kind surrounding it is called "a mother and her children." A dried tree is known as "an old lady with grey hair." Some plants are "brother" or "sister" to others. Sotol is considered a male, the "brother" of *Yucca glauca*, the female element of this particular combination. Therefore the transverse pieces at the back of the cradle-board must be made of sotol stalk when the child for whom the cradle is designed is a male, and of yucca when it is being prepared for a baby girl. Likewise is this distinction kept in mind when the fire-drill is fashioned, the hearth being then of the yucca and the drill of sotol. Whenever an Apache digs up a root to be used for medicinal or ceremonial purposes, he always prays and puts the top of the plant back in the hole.

[352] [372] [782]

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Life and conscious aims are attributed to natural forces as well. The Apache conception of thunder will serve as an example. Thunder is thought of as people and thunderclaps are the voices and shouting of these people. Lightning is the arrow of the thunder people and these arrows reach the earth as the elongated flints which the Apache find throughout their territory. At one time the thunder people hunted for the Apache and slew deer for them with these arrows. But those days are past and now the arrows of the thunder people are reserved for any who act disrespectfully to the thunder people or otherwise disobey the injunctions of Apache life. When the lightning flashes, the Apache says, "Let it be well, my brother Lightning," or "Strike high, my brother." When the lightning hits close the relationship is altered to make the prayer more appealing and the Apache says:

[761] [828] [773] [782] [539]

> Continue in a good way.
> Be kind as you go through;
> Do not frighten these poor people;
> My grandfather, let it be well;
> Don't frighten us poor people.

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1947
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

me about it. So tonight I will sing and talk to my power to find out whether it is all right to go on with it.

The lightest punishment for somehow offending the source of power is the loss of its cooperation and the voiding of the ceremony. Some Chiricahua fear misfortune and persecution by the power, in addition.

> A person keeps his power by obeying his power source, by not leaving out anything. It is just as if you had men working under you; you like the man who does everything just so, but you turn out the man who doesn't carry out everything as you direct. If the mistake is not made intentionally the shaman and members of his family are not in danger, though.

> When they have a ceremony, they always have to do it exactly right, and when they don't do it right, there is sickness or death in the family. I have noticed that if the rules are not followed just so, trouble comes,—a death or something. Power takes one of their family. That is why some people reject power when it is offered and want to remain as they are. There is a big penalty for not doing exactly what is laid down. If a shaman makes mistakes, says the prayers wrong, or something like that, he must repeat them.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 207–10.)

Normally, however, the Chiricahua shaman views his close association with his power source in a positive light. It provides him with a basis for appealing to supernatural power in time of emergency, for pleading with power, cajoling it, and even scolding it for non-performance of duty when it fails to heal or help.